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El Plan de Tegucigalpa

1. Enclosed herewith is a field translation of El Plan de Tegucigalpa which on available evidence is believed to be CALLIGERIS' political program. This translation was made from an article appearing in Pronto, the organ of a new exile group in Mexico City, the CEGAM. Appearing on 15 March 1954 it carried the title, Los Dados Sobre La Mesa.
2. This Plan is reported to have been published in El Imparcial, Guatemala City, sometime last year.
3. LINCOLN notes also that it was published in the 24 December 1954 edition in Boletin del CENAJOE, No. 17.
4. El Heraldo, Caracas, of 26 March 1954 carries an article entitled El "Plan de Tegucigalpa" in which reference is made to the Plan; the article is signed by Carlos SALAZAR, Luis VALLADARES y Aycoina, L. GONZALO Lira. This was part of the publicity for the CALLIGERIS delegates to the Conference.
5. LINCOLN requests that the Addressee Stations cite any additional publicity which the Plan may have received.

JEROME C. DUNBAR

JCL/ sct/ sgv
13 April 1954
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El Plan de Tegucigalpa
Published in Pronto, Mexico
City on 15 March 1954

The State

The special mission of the State is to form a national spirit strong and unified in the spiritual field and a people healthy and organically capable.

We live in an epoch of social transformation and we are aware of the aspirations of the moment with glances to the future, but with the full conception of the reality of our country. We cannot return to the past, therefore we should construct on solid foundations and that solidity alone can provide understanding of the reality of a nation and its destiny.

By every means and with every resource we shall combat international communism. Laws ought to be passed immediately aimed at eradicating it from our country and avoiding its becoming enthroned ever again. An awareness should be created in the people of exactly what Marxism signifies and the problem of misery must be resolved on the basis of Social Justice. The urgent necessity of instituting the familial salary is recognized.

The Individual

Human dignity, the integrity of man and his liberty are eternal and intangible values; but the use of this liberty against the fortification and aggrandizement of the country should be prohibited. Legal norms of rigorous obligations should impede every attempt directed at poisoning, at disuniting or changing the destinies of the Nation.

Justice and peace in the world, as well as liberty, have as a basis the recognition of the intrinsic dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family. The lack of recognition and the deprivation of the rights of man have originated acts of barbarism outrageous to the conscience of humanity.

We recognize as an ambition of every human being the advent of a world in which men may enjoy liberty of speech free from fear and misery as well as liberty of belief, liberty of public assembly, liberty of movement and the other liberties proclaimed by democracy and protected by a just regime.

Human equality in dignity and rights will be protected. We do not accept discrimination by reason of race, color, sex, language, religion, political opinion, or any other characteristic of national or social origin, of economic or some other condition.

The right to life, to liberty, and personal security, and the repudiation of slavery in any form, of inhuman or degrading tortures, penalties or cruel treatments form the substance of our philosophy.

The right to be heard publicly and with justice by independent and impartial tribunals and the right that one's innocence may be presumed so long as guilt is unproven constitute guarantees which should have effective reality in practice. The right to indemnization is recognized when the verdict in the penal branch absolves the accused.

The prison program will be modernized with a view toward the physical and moral betterment of the prisoners whose human dignity will be respected fully and to whom society will guarantee their rehabilitation.

Respect of private life, of the family and the home, of private correspondence, of the honor and reputation of individuals should remain fully guaranteed.

The right to participate in the government directly or through freely chosen representatives and of access to public functions are the inherent rights of citizens and thus we esteem and recognize them.

Capital and Labor

Work must be considered as an individual right and as a social obligation. Parasitism should be punished in accord with the laws which must be passed for that purpose, but it is an obligation of the State to employ its full resources in order to provide work for all who lack it and thus assure economic conditions necessary to a proper existence.

The advantages provided to the laborers by social laws now in force will be maintained and social security will be justly reorganized to the end that it take into account certain loans which today fall passively on the conscience of the people as well as on enterprises, thereby exhausting them.

Capital and labor must be protected by the State, thereby bringing these factors of production into close and effective harmony. Laws which regulate the relationship between capital and labor will take into account the social and economic conditions of the country, the conditions and particular customs of each region, and the characteristics and potentialities of the different classes of activity.

An active campaign of education will be initiated which will make plain the fact that the class struggle is destructive, prejudicial to one's own economic and social interests and which will explain the advantages which close collaboration between management and laborer represents for both in the interest of justice and stability.

Those labor organizations now functioning find themselves organized and directed by a single central unit of a totalitarian nature and of an exclusively political character. In reforming this situation the Labor Code must proclaim an effective freedom for unions and must, in the best possible manner, provide guarantees against that super-labor organization which enslaves unions and workers. Reforms must be channeled in accord with the principles of the International Labor Organization which has drawn up multilateral treaties for just this purpose. It must prohibit all communist influence in the unions and in the labor movement.

It is an obligation of the State to make effective the right to social security, to medical assistance and to the necessary social services-- i.e. the right to insurance in the case of accident, unemployment, illness, invalidism, widowhood, old age, and in all instances of the loss of independent means of subsistence at one's disposal and the loss of protection to the family, to mothers, to the family and to infants.

The State will undertake the construction of cheap living quarters and housing projects for laborers. The Planning Council, which will be immediately created, will give special attention to this administrative matter.

The Economy, Land, Cooperatives

We aspire to that economic ^{condition} ~~state~~ in which Guatemala will be a country of great production. The best way to increase the well-being of the country, raising the living standards of all social classes and particularly of the laborers and the farmers, is to attract national and domestic capital and to make use of the technical direction of the United Nations in the development of new sources of wealth which will insure full employment to the population, remunerative jobs, and an active commerce.

Capital and technical aid must be the object of special guarantees which will be established in treaties that take into account the two extremes: one, the avoidance of monopolistic action and its privileges; the other, the avoidance of the expropriation of enterprises or the confiscation of its profits for political purposes or the like.

Specialized technicians must establish which industries deserve State protection and this will be the basis for the formulation of a new industrial law.

Immediately and in proper form we must proceed to the development of the total agricultural resources of the country, to the creation of new fincas, to an agricultural industrialization aimed at the maximum yield and export of the products of the land. With the support of domestic and foreign capital, and with the assistance of experts, a plan for machinery and equipment must be prepared and executed. A strong incentive must be given in immediate form to the development of the cattle industry, setting up great breeding places for cattle in different favorable zones of the Republic and if possible in the plains of Peten, taking advantage of the experience of other countries in such cases. We will try to produce the greatest quality of meat to improve the food supply of the people as well as for export.

A fundamental question is to devise an effective check on the erosion of our lands with its cultivated plots at the foothill of the mountains.

The modern capitalistic system, humanized, is advisable for our economic development. Marxism must be repudiated in so far as it provokes class struggle, nullifies private property and the incentive for work, and in as much as it leads in the end to the absorption by the State of all the resources of production. A dynamic cooperative orientation is desirable in order to achieve a decrease in the cost of living and a higher level of existence. A policy which is firmly directed to the creation of the greatest number of proprietors without falling into the danger of "minifundio" will be an object of special consideration.

Wealth has as its first goal the improvement of the conditions for all those who make up the population. It is not acceptable that the great majority live miserably while a few enjoy luxury. The social laws must take their inspiration from the economic realities of the country and must be applied justly without favoritism and with full guarantees to employer and employees. Discrimination is hateful and disadvantageous.

In the plan for national economic improvement we will proceed to give a broad impulse to the investigation, exploration and exploitation of the extractive industries and in particular to ^{the} hydrocarbon industry and its allies. Failure to make use of this wealth now is uneconomic for it is undeniable that within a short time the industrial use of atomic energy will devalue the fuels used now. In administrative contracts of concessions, the technical direction will remain under the direction of industry and the State will participate in its benefits, thus giving confidence, security and guarantees to the investors of the indispensable capital.

Insofar as the Agrarian Reform affects the distribution of land it must be carried out without harm or waste to those enterprises of any kind which constitute well organized economic units, such as coffee fincas, sugar cane, banana, fine woods, vegetable oils, and so forth, and cattle and fruit ranches and dairies. Consequently lands should be apportioned as legitimate property, not as a loan, to whomever aspires to independence. An institution of Agrarian Reform will be established with political autonomy and sufficient facilities to proceed with the division of lands belonging to the State, substituting for political control the technical assistance of specialized services and the financial aid which initiates new exploitations. The excessive holding of land and the usurious exploitation of campesinos will be prohibited.

Economic and social reform will be carried out for the enrichment of agricultural production. The first will be realized through the following means:

- a) Assuring a minimum profitable price for agricultural products;
- b) Returning to the land, in order to endow it sufficiently, a large part of that which today the city absorbs in paying for bureaucratic services;
- c) Organizing a true national agricultural credit which, by lending money to the laborer at low interest, will redeem him from usury and from Bossism.
- d) Spreading agricultural and cattle education through the different sections of the Republic;
- e) Regulating the distribution of land in accord with its condition and the potential placement of its products;
- f) Regulating tariff policy in a manner which will protect agriculture and cattle industry; and,
- g) Accelerating hydraulic works and rationalizing the uses of cultivation.

The social reform of agriculture must be carried out, distributing arable land in the State's possession in order to initiate family property and to redeem from misery those families who live in sterile lands, endowing them with new arable lands.

Plans for economic and social reform will be developed, setting up agrarian legislation for the country in accord with the ideas expressed here ; this legislation will be substituted for the present Agrarian Reform Law and its effects and consequences.

The reconstruction of the ancestral communes of the people as municipal property will be given preferential treatment.

The State must permit all private initiative compatible with the general interest and must encourage those initiatives which are beneficial. With the aid of foreign capital, areas of backward economic development must seek the means of initiating and developing their own improvement. A policy of popular conviction must be directed towards an integral cooperative system in the use of national resources, a policy which at the same time that it lowers the cost of living will raise its living standard. The establishment of cooperatives for consumers, for production, credit and banking, must be free and voluntary; the development of this economic-social system, aimed at eliminating the misery of the great majority, will constitute an effective barrier against communist action.

The Family, Culture, Social Assistance

The family, the mother, and the married couple must have the protection of the State which will see to a strict compliance with the obligations which derive from that protection. Familial inheritance must be the cause of protective legislation. The organization of the family, legally based on marriage, must rest on the equality of rights for both husband and wife.

By whatever means at its disposal the State will endeavor to see to it that marriage is the basis for the organization of the family, in order to cement morally and legally the relations which must exist between married people.

Adoption, in order to benefit juveniles, must be maintained. Legal inequalities between children born in or out of wedlock must be avoided for both must have equal rights.

The State must guard the physical, mental and moral health of infants, creating the necessary and adequate institutions and accessories.

The fathers of families who have six or more children under age and who lack sufficient resources must receive the special protection of the State.

The promotion and spread of culture constitutes an obligation of the State. This education must include the protection of physical health, moral and civic formation, and instruction and initiation in activities of a practical nature.

The magistrate must preserve and intensify the dignity natural to the personality of children and young people and the State must dignify the teacher economically, socially and culturally. Control and supervision must be strict, and rigorous sanctions must be placed on those who establish school or scholarship in centers of marxist dissemination or on a tribunal of political propaganda.

A minimum of common compulsory knowledge must be imparted and gratuitously sustained with the resources of the State. In general, knowledge must constitute a social function intimately related to social necessities and tendencies and to the aspirations of the society which it is designed to serve, and it must constitute a powerful support for social unification, for social conscience, and for social progress.

The State will establish schools of arts and trades in each departmental capital and will establish centers of rural education on the very land where the campesinos live.

The obligation of finca owners, of the owners of factories and other great enterprises, to support schools for the peasant and laborer population must be made effective, and the State must determine the per-

sonnel, selecting the individuals and inspecting its functioning. In the rural schools elementary courses of agriculture must be prescribed and practical agriculturists developed.

The campaign for national literacy must be active and effective. The personnel who make up the campaign must be reorganized in order to eliminate the communist elements which have filtrated into it.

The development of an integral policy for economic, social and cultural improvement of the indigenous groups must be carried out on the basis of the practices, the customs, conditions and needs of each one of these nucleus of population.

The right to education, to technical and professional instruction, and access to higher education on an equal basis must be made effective. Everyone must have access to the centers of study and talent must not be wasted through the lack of economic resources. A law will establish the form of compensation to those persons who through their ability and achievement in their studies are worthy of a guarantee from the State of that economic support necessary for the completion of the professional career which they have selected, and for broadening their knowledge through specialization abroad.

The autonomy of the University of San Carlos of Guatemala must be maintained and the State will contribute to insure and increase the University's inheritance.

Public health and social assistance will be a real concern of the government. A progressive campaign of sanitation will be instituted and developed in an active and effective form. Social assistance must be reorganized and developed throughout the Republic. The personnel must be carefully selected and the hospital centers must be endowed with all that is necessary. The Roosevelt Hospital must be completed as soon as possible and duly equipped. The Planning Council must consider as a problem of urgent resolution the health of the people and the aid that this project must receive.

The Economic Regime and Public Works

The goods which constitute the inheritance of the State will be detachable and disposable with the exception of those which are necessary for its existence and functioning.

Private property as the legitimate means for the fulfillment of individual, familial and social ends must be protected by the State and defended against the abuses of great financial capital, of speculators and money lenders.

The State will supply technical instruction, administrative direction, machinery and capital to agricultural collectives and cooperatives.

Freedom of industry, of commerce and of work in general must be recognized and guaranteed. The author or inventor will enjoy the exclusive ownership of his work or invention. Literary or artistic ownership is assured.

Contracts to exploit minerals or hydro-carbonic deposits can be drawn up not to exceed fifty years and those relating to national waters, for a period no greater than 25 years. The deposits of hydro-carbons and their derivatives can be exploited by the State and by companies of Guatemalan or foreign capital, the State to participate equitably in the profits.

One of the aims of the government will be to make Guatemala a rich and prosperous nation, initiating and developing the exploitation of its natural resources and giving full guarantees to national and foreign capital.

Honor in the management of public funds and probity in general must be the maximum realization of the government.

Economic and Cultural Aid to Municipalities

The backwardness of the population, even in departmental capitals, is lamentable and demands the immediate attention of the central government. In order to correct this situation it is necessary:

- a) To create committees of citizens who will actively interest themselves in local progress and make themselves responsible for it;
- b) To establish the principle that the profits of the production in a given locality must contribute to that progress, which means it must cede to the municipalities a substantial part of the taxes on coffee and on the other taxable articles which are produced in the municipality;
- c) To create a body of technical assistance to the municipalities with mobile activities in order to actuate local progress;
- d) To localize industries and artisan works which are typical of a purely local interest;
- e) To activate urbanism within a system of protection to the increase and improvement of the inhabitants.

The cultural function must consist principally of the development of sports, the promotion of honest entertainments, the foundation of vital libraries, aid to religious activities, the establishment of banking agencies in the most important areas with savings departments, cultural examinations and debates, etc.

The generalization and perfection of the communication systems -- railroads, airlines, radios, teletypes, telegraphs and telephones -- must be achieved and the price of these services must be lowered.

The State must set up and promote the creation and functioning of public services for potable water, for light and electric energy, in those places where they do not now exist.

Army

The technical reorganization of the Army is fundamental but reorganization is even more desirable from the point of view of morale. There can be no soldier where there is no honor. Honor is the life of a soldier and without it all the merit and technical values which might be roused disappear. Either one cultivates and practices honor or one cannot be a soldier. Honor is the symbol of military virtue. To make the army a bastion of democracy in Guatemala and in Central America and to instruct the soldier beneath the standards of honor and in the spirit of sacrifice and service to the Patria will constitute one of the ends of this government.

International Policy

Respect to and faithful compliance with the treaties and conventions signed by Guatemala constitute an irrefutable pledge.

International policy will aim towards the tightening and harmonizing of relations with all the countries of the Western Democracies, based on the principle of loyal and sincere cooperation.

Guatemala will establish itself as a strong anti-communist bastion in Central America and she will re-enter the inner halls of the Organization of Central American States with sincere unionist proposals consonant with the reality of our peoples and will contribute to the formation of a fighting front against communism in Central America.

In a sincere and effective manner, Guatemala will align itself in the vanguard of democratic countries and will give its entire cooperation to continental solidarity and defense.